M
273 ordinarily does not stop until his tenth liter, and he is not the biggest drinker. Very often [149] the celebrations degenerate
[579] into bloody brawls. The drunken native flies into a rage over trifles, quarrels, and does not hesitate to use his weapons.

T
273 Among certain tribes, notably the Banfumungu, women
562 under no circumstances may be present at important festivities or participate in large-scale drinking. Pokei assures us that they are excluded because of their vindictive temperament. "We men," he said, "sometimes fight during these celebrations, but the next day haven't we forgotten our quarrels? The women would also fight. Do they know how to hold their tongues even when they haven't drunk masanga? The next day they would go on quarrelling. The husbands would step in. A village quarrel would follow every celebration! No, the women may not drink masanga."

It would be a mistake, however, to believe that the women strictly observe this prohibition. Oh no! More than one has her little drop of masanga inside her hut, and on occasion intentionally pours herself a little too much. Masanga is not taboo for them!

M
273 Sugar-cane beer is served in small earthenware cups, pieces
[415] of a calabash, or wooden cups.

East of Balesa-Batete territory, masanga seems to be unknown, or at least we did not find any, either among the Ipanga-Batitu or among the Bokala-Yaelima.

M
D
273 Among the Basongo-Meno and Bankutu of the Bena Dibele-Kole region, the natives chiefly consume palm wine.
415 They also make very inferior beer from maize or millet.

To make this beer, the native crushes the maize or millet, steeps it in spring water, and lets it ferment in earthenware jars.

M
D
415 These jars are shaped more or less like the water jug with the spherical body, but have a very broad and higher neck. They are
531 usually quite large. The cups used for palm wine and beer by the Basongo-Meno and Bankutu are always carved out of wood. They are found in all shapes, from a simple, undecorated small keg to a splendidly fashioned human figurine. In certain villages, notably at Tipolo and Bakoba, we found cups made of buffalo horn, decorated [150] with carved designs. Cups shaped like horns are sometimes carved out of wood. These are usually larger and more carefully decorated.

593 sides with his family against his wife does not have the approval of
578 those who judge the conflict simply as neutral spectators. In such a case it is usually felt that the couple do not love each other very much. And often the marriage soon breaks up. But if the union is maintained nevertheless, its continuation is generally attributed to a fear of the consequences of dissolving the marriage, which would be even worse. The same sort of variation among individuals is to be found in the matter of a wife's devotion to the interests of her husband's family.

593 It is not possible to compare a native household to the
596 households of good simple people at home, where [40] the family is composed solely of parents and their children. Here it extends further; the husband's interests are also those of his parents, brothers, uncles, etc. As we will see in connection with marriage by inheritance it is not unusual for a woman to remain attached to her deceased husband's family. Others are more interested in enriching their own families.

593 The following is a historical instance of a wife who was very
159 devoted to her husband's interests, though there seemed to be room
579 in her make-up for pride and personal glory. (1): Bolǔmbǔ wǎ

1. According to my estimates, this episode is about a hundred years old. I knew two men who had recollections of it: the eldest (Longwokǒ of the Basɛ́kǎ Bengǒngǒ, Bongíli) was about twenty years old when it occurred. A greatgranddaughter of Bonyeme (Mputǔ Sofie) is now in her forties.

nsánjí, daughter of Bokombe of Litǔli (Bombwanja), was married to Bonyeme w'ěnyukǎ of Bonganda (Bonkoso). One day (her father having died in the meantime) she went back to visit her brother, Bompelí w'ělombo, who had left Litǔli to settle in his maternal village, Etǒo of the Boɛ́ndɛ́. They began to quarrel. Bompelí maintained that Bonyeme wasn't worth much, that his wealth was exaggerated, that it was a mistake to honor him, etc. Bolǔmbǔ

defended her husband. Finally, since they could not agree, Bompelf ordered his sister not to return to her husband, so that she could be married to another man. For he had decided to test the valor of Bonyeme by making war on him, and she could not see her husband taken prisoner by her own brother. Nevertheless, Bolumbu remained determined and departed in haste. When she reached her husband she told him everything. In the meantime all the Boende and other Bombwanja clans were taking up arms. Enyuka, for his part, passed the news on to all Bonkoso villages, as well as their relatives by marriage, dependents, and Batswa. The various groups of combatants stationed themselves near the village of Bonganda in what is today the forest of [41] Bongonjou, between the Lomeke and the present location of Besombo, Bofelf, and Engonjo. The Boende army was taken unawares by the Bonkoso, who attacked and after furious combat routed them, leaving a number of dead on the field. Bonyeme proposed a peace. He took pride in not being surpassed in generosity. With a truly princely munificence he was not satisfied with only paying all the clans who had lost members but in addition sent Bompelf all that the latter needed in order to compensate Bombwanja groups for the loss of their members and, on top of this, brought him a whole fortune to complete Bolumbu's bride price.

The Nkundo are well acquainted with cases of widows who, having reached middle age, take a solemn oath not to remarry or ever go near a man again. Among the stronger sex such cases are almost nonexistent. Cases of women who, when sick and dying wanted to remain near their husbands, cited later (Chap. VI, Art. II, 4) should be noted here, as well as preferences for monogamy (Chap. VII, Art. VI, VII).

Bearing in mind the explanation given at the outset, I think I can state that most marriages contracted by the Nkundo are love matches. Marriage for political reasons or for certain material advantages have certainly existed. And especially at the present time, there are parents who push their children into marriage for the sake of financial or social gains.

Our conclusions may not be accepted by a number of colonials. Yet I feel they are valid in the limited sense indicated here. Arguments

428 He had set his heart on Bolúmbú, daughter of Ntando Éy'ɪlengu of
587 Bofalambóka. Upon the death of Bolúmbú's husband, Esalé éâ
581 Lonkongá, (in 1926), she had been asked for by Bombóngo, a distant relative of Esalé. Proceeding in the customary fashion, Bombóngo had made his request through the medium of his elder brother Engambí and had paid a bompángá of 4 bakonga and 20 francs. In the meantime, Babolá reached adulthood; he left our school and returned to his native village. Being a true nephew of Esalé éâ Lonkongá, he had a direct right over this woman, who left Bombóngo. Since the latter protested, however, the priest was faced with a moral problem; the question was whether or not there was a real marriage between Bombóngo and Bolúmbú. If there were, there would be no question of a marriage between Babolá and Bolúmbú, since the Church could not break a valid marriage between Christians. I have said above that a union of the sort involved in this case is not, in Nkundo eyes, a typical marriage. However, I wanted to have every assurance and to be as certain as possible. To that end, I went to Bonjoku at the time of the tax collection. I found many men gathered there. I raised the question of marriage by inheritance. The discussion ended on the unanimous expression of the opinion that in the instance involved nothing opposed the new marriage. The men gathered there added that all similar cases are rather a sort of concubinage accepted by ancestral law, but lacking all characteristics of a true marriage.

In order to avoid the many disadvantages inherent in this second form of marriage by inheritance, the husband, if he has any wealth, will do everything he can to collect the valuables needed for the bride price and pay his father-in-law. The latter will use the bride price to reimburse the heir. By making this payment, which is handed over through a new ndonga designated by him, the husband obtains complete possession of the woman. The marriage by inheritance than changes into a marriage by nkumbó. The besangójwá which the husband had previously given the heir must be returned, and the heir's ties with the woman are broken by these formalities.

● [579] It sometimes happens that the heir takes a very dim view of this new payment and takes offense. In the past a war, through illegal, could result -- after which, as always, the matter was settled just the same.

764 [584] to return to join the procession, or may be able to do so only with difficulty.

The act of carrying a corpse to its native clan is not designated by any specific term. The expression is simply tsíka iláka, "to go and return the corpse."

764 431 In one or more places near the entrance to the village, a barrier (bokáko, lokombí, or loílaka) made of posts and palms is set up. There the relatives of the deceased, armed, wait for the procession of the husband's relatives, who are also armed, and forbid them to continue their march. Before passing, the latter must make a payment. The valuables given are called byɛ̌ko by'ôkáko or simply bokáko (or loílaka). The family of the deceased calls to the procession, "Halt! You will not pass here." The latter reply, "We come to bring [426] you the corpse of your child; we want to break down the barrier. Let us pass; here are [584] the gifts." The ndonga hands over a knife, a brass or copper ring, or some equivalent object (for instance, money, nowadays). Thereupon the members of the deceased's clan move away. The bǎnambótswá (persons related to both clans) break down the barrier, and the procession passes, headed by the ndonga and the bǎnambótswá. The husband follows the coffin.

764 ●579 In the past it was almost always necessary to force a passage through the barrier. The wife's family did not want to open and the husband's family did not want to pay, and so they came to blows. The group bearing the corpse tried to break down the barrier, while their adversaries tried to prevent them from doing so. The arms used in that struggle were chiefly pointed sticks which the members of the two camps threw at each other; more rarely, arrows were used. The specific name for this sort of brawl is ekɔ̀kélá. Certain clans specialize in this sport. Thus between Boímbo and Lileko, there is a regular battle every time. In such serious cases the barrier is heavily fortified; the posts are thick and hard, and intertwined with thorny creepers (bokau, longolí, wanganjála, etc.) and thorny shrubs (wɛ̌ngé, etc.). A quantity [825] of venomous biting ants (bafumba, mbómbá, byɔ̌mbo, etc.) are added. If the brawl becomes serious, the ndonga and the other bǎnambótswa intervene and impose peace by requiring the husband's clan to pay.

764
579 Nevertheless, it may happen that the husband's family, while unable to vanquish their adversaries, persist in spite of everything in their desire not to pay. They run away and return home, abandoning the corpse in the hands of the family of the deceased. But this is a very serious offense. It is therefore considered simply as a breaking of the alliance between the two families. The husband need not bring funeral payments, for they will be refused in any case. Henceforth he can no longer [427] present a bride price to obtain a substitute for the deceased. Furthermore, he loses his rights over his children, whose maternal clan he has disowned, and if the matter is not settled in one way or another, he no longer has the right to the bride prices that will be paid for his daughters. And to add to his troubles, he risks being molested by the spirit of the deceased.

When the husband's party succeeds in opening a passage, the opposing clan hastens to defend the succeeding barrier. In fact, if the procession must pass through several clans or groups related to the wife (her mother's clan, grandfather's clan, grandmother's clan, etc.), each group sets up its own barrier.

If there are no more barriers, the struggle is ended. But in any case the husband must pay the valuables demanded for passing through. When the procession arrives at the village, the question of funeral payments is settled, and these "tolls" are included in the accounting.

In the past a brawl was usually inevitable. And even now they occur more frequently than we would suspect. But the violence has been reduced to a few light wounds. Some clans arrange the matter amicably without resorting to action. But only very seldom do they neglect to put up a barrier. Nevertheless, cases do occur here and there under the pressure of chiefs who favor the penetration of European notions of public peace and tranquility. In these instances the parties involved merely pay regular indemnities at the time of the palaver concerning funeral payments. A great friendship between the two clans involved sometimes favors this more humane type of behavior.